

197
185 launched to unify the national language, and a system of thirty-nine phonetic symbols which were later reduced to thirty-seven was devised primarily for the purpose of indicating speech sounds. In the following year the pronunciation of Northern Mandarin as typified by the dialect of Pei ping was adopted as the standard for the new national language. With the strong support of the government and educational leaders, the movement soon gained momentum and swept the entire country. Gradually more and more speakers of other dialects began to make an effort to learn the new national language or kuo-yü.

During the years of China's war of resistance against Japan when people speaking various dialects were squeezed into the hinterland, dialectal barriers were gradually broken down. A situation like that proved to be favorable to the further popularization of the national language. Although it may be exaggeration to say that now the national language has replaced the local dialects in the Southwest Region, it is nevertheless true that kuo-yü is gaining wider acceptance than ever before.

VI. THE WRITTEN LANGUAGES

A. The Chinese Written Language

• 212

The Chinese written language consists of thousands of uniformly understood logographs or "characters" as they are commonly called. They can be understood only with reference to their ancient forms.

~~AF 16~~

1. Pictographs

•212

Chinese characters are traditionally classified into six main categories, the first of which is pictographs. The characters in this category all originated from simple pictures: jih ☉ (now written 日) is the character for "the sun"; yüeh ☾ (now written 月) is the character for "the moon," etc. However, they have long lost their function of picturing things and have become merely conventionalized visual symbols of spoken words.

2. Ideographs

The second category is that of the ideographs, which are characters indicating in a diagrammatic manner simple ideas, as shang 上 for "up, above," hsia 下 for "down, below," i 一 for "one", erh 二 for "two," san 三 for "three," etc. Pictographs and ideographs, presumably bases of ancient Chinese characters, however, amount to only one-tenth of the entire stock of China's written symbols.

3. Compound Ideographs

The third category is that of the compound ideographs or characters whose meanings are determined by the combined meanings of their component parts, as ming 明, which is a combination of the "sun" and "moon", stands for "bright"; hsin 信, which is a combination of "man" and "word," hence, the "words of a man" stands for "honesty."

4. Phonetic Loan Characters

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The fourth category is that of phonetic loan characters. These characters were all borrowed from existing words homophonous with the new ones for which written symbols had to be coined. For example, when a written symbol had to be created for the new word lai, meaning "to come," instead of resorting to pictographic or ideographic devices for the coining of such a symbol, the old character 來, meaning "barley," also similarly pronounced, was borrowed for that purpose. Often such a borrowed character displaced the original source. Thus, 來 is now used exclusively to mean "to come" rather than "barley." Similarly, ch'i 其, the third personal pronoun, is now used invariably as such rather than as a symbol for "basket," the meaning of the original word similarly written and similarly pronounced.

5. Phonetic Compounds

Phonetic compounds constitute the fifth and perhaps the most numerous category of Chinese characters. They consist of two portions, a "signific" or meaning portion, and a "phonetic" or pronunciation portion. The former reveals the general meaning while the latter indicates the pronunciation of the compound. Thus, jan 然 "to burn" has huo 火 "fire" as its signific, and jan 然 "so, thus" as its phonetic. Similarly, t'ang 糖 "sugar" has mi 米 "rice, cereal" as its signific, and t'ang 唐 "bold talk" as its phonetic. It may be pointed out here that the phonetic element of such compounds may or may not have been a "phonetic loan compound," that the pronunciation of the phonetic may or may not be

212 exactly identical with that of the compound even on the basis of ancient Chinese pronunciation, and that the meaning indicated by the signific is at best categorical rather than minutely accurate.

6. Derivative Characters

The last of the six categories consists of what may be called derivative characters, the origin of which is still uncertain. Some scholars think that the characters of the category resulted from graphic inversion, such as lao 老 "aged, old" and k'ao 考 "aged, old" others think that they resulted from changes brought about by modifications in sounds accompanied by modifications in meanings, such as heng 亨 "propitious" and hsiang 享 "to enjoy." At any rate, this is the smallest category.

B. Non-Chinese Written Languages

212
513 To varying degrees of completeness and adequacy, some of the non-Chinese languages spoken in this region have their own scripts:

1. The Pai-yi ethnic minority groups, speaking Kam-Tai dialects, use two systems of writing. One is the Shan alphabet derived from the Burmese alphabet and the other is closely related to the Siamese alphabet.

2. Speakers of Miao-Yao have no script of their own, but attempts have been made by some Western missionaries to adapt the Latin alphabet to these dialects for the translation of the Bible.

~~AF 16~~

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363 3. A writing system derived from a certain ancient Indic alphabet of the seventh century is used by the Tibetan-speaking people in this region in their religious writings.

4. The Lo^olo people use a phonetic script, mainly for religious writings. The phonetic symbols resemble Chinese characters and can be written either vertically or horizontally.

5. A primitive "hieroglyphic" script is in use among the Moso-speaking people. The system has yet to be standardized and is neither adequate nor effective as a written medium of communication. More recently an effort has been made to adopt a phonetic alphabet to replace the "hieroglyphic" symbols. The new phonetic alphabet resembles that of the Lo^olo script.

VII. CHINESE SCRIPT AND THE HIGH INCIDENCE OF ILLITERACY

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It is true that written Chinese is uniformly understood throughout the country and has created no difficulty for literate Chinese in communicating ideas to one another regardless of their dialectal affiliation. But it is also true that although Chinese characters might have been devised for writing the spoken language in ancient times, now the great majority of symbols have become merely conventionalized written equivalents of individual spoken words. Some of the characters for most commonly used words such as 鹽 "salt" and 鐵 "iron," for instance, consist of twenty-four and twenty-one strokes respectively. To say the very least about them, they are time-consuming for the average Chinese

212 to learn and memorize. As there are thousands of characters in everyday use, many of which are comparable in complexity and clumsiness, it should be apparent that it will take an average person many years to become adequately literate. It is entirely possible and highly probable that there is a definite connection between the complicated and clumsy Chinese script and the high incidence of illiteracy in China, although other equally convincing factors, too, must have contributed substantially to that fact.

IX. LANGUAGE REFORMS

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185 Attempts to introduce language reforms in China began on a nationwide basis with the movement to unify the national language shortly after the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1911. The movement was followed closely by efforts to reform the written language. Those who advocated such reforms were of the opinion that since the characters were so complicated and time-consuming for the average person to learn, and since literary Chinese was so unrealistic and impractical, something had to be done to make the written language of China more effective, so that it could be within the grasp of the average person to learn, and in a relatively short period of time.

A. Phonetic Symbols

One type of reform advocated the use of phonetic symbols as an aid to the illiterate to learn to read. However, since the sole function of these symbols is phonetic, they are effective

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185 when they are used as a guide to correct pronunciation in accordance with the standard of the national language for the purpose of leveling down dialectal differences in pronunciation. They are helpful only to those who have not yet acquired such a knowledge. They cannot possibly add anything to the attempt to make the Chinese language system simpler or more readily accessible to the illiterate masses.

B. Alphabetization

Another type of reform advocated was the alphabetization of Chinese in order to get away from ideographic writing. As a matter of fact, the use of the Roman alphabet for the transcription of sounds of the Chinese language is no novel suggestion. As early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, Matteo Ricci, a Jesuit missionary to China, began to transcribe the then Mandarin sounds with the Roman alphabet on the basis of the speech sounds of his own native Italian language. Later, other systems of romanization were devised by others to meet the needs of those speaking other Western languages. The most widely used system among English-speaking peoples is the so-called Wade-Giles system, originally devised by Sir Thomas Wade, a member of the British legation in China, and later revised by the British sinologist, Herbert A. Giles. Another system in current use in this country is devised by the linguists at Yale University.

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In 1928 the Chinese Ministry of Education adopted a system of romanization known as Gwoyeu Romatzyh or National Language Romanization, devised by a group of Chinese linguists and intellectual leaders such as Dr. Yuen Ren Chao, Dr. Lin Yutang, and others. Its distinguishing feature is that instead of indicating Chinese intonation by means of superior figures or diacritical marks, it spells the different tones of Chinese words with different letters: mai (second tone, Wade-Giles mai²) "to bury"; mae (third tone, Wade-Giles mai³) "to buy"; may (fourth tone, Wade-Giles mai⁴) "to sell".

Between 1929 and 1931 another system of romanization known as Latinzua was devised mainly by Professor A. A. Dragunov, a linguist of Leningrad, primarily for teaching the Chinese workers in the USSR to read. It has been very popular, for obvious reasons, with the Chinese Communists, who have been doing all they can to promote and popularize it. However, since the system makes no attempt, except in an ad hoc manner, to distinguish tones in Chinese, it is not only inadequate and unsatisfactory, but often misleading.

C. Simplified Characters

Yet another type of proposal advocated the simplification of Chinese characters, especially the more complicated ones in common use, by reducing the number of their strokes. Advocates of this proposal believed that a simplified system of writing would make the whole process of

~~AF 16~~

212 learning to read and write Chinese much easier
185 and less time-consuming. For example, ts'ai
"then" has been reduced to look like 才, and
4X t'ieh "iron", to look like 铁. If a satisfactory
principle of simplification that is philologically
sound can be worked out, so that the simplified
characters, if necessary, can be identified with
the original characters, the adoption of such a
system may turn out to be a boon to China's
millions of illiterate people in their effort to
become literate.

D. Basic Chinese

A fourth type of proposal advocated the reduction of the number of characters to be meant for general use in order to simplify the written language. For example, the series of textbooks for teaching the illiterate compiled by Dr. Yen Yang-ch'u, leader of the Mass Education Movement, who is better known abroad as James Y.C. Yen, represents an effort made in this direction. On the basis of some 1,200 characters chosen by him in terms of their frequency, he compiled texts that he believed would enable China's illiterate people to meet their basic needs in expression. As another effort made more or less in the same direction, we may mention the list of characters chosen by Hung Shen, the famous dramatist. In 1935 he published his Method of Teaching and Using 1,100 Basic Chinese Characters. Instead of basing his choice of characters on frequency and limiting their usefulness and expressiveness to the rudimentary plane, he chose them on the criteria of

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- 212 their flexibility in forming compounds with other
125 characters, and their adequacy for general use
in everyday situations.

X. DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE COMMUNISTS

The Chinese Communists have been cautious in their efforts to reform the Chinese language. They frequently quote Stalin as saying that the language of a people cannot be artificially changed and that the evolution of any language has to follow a natural course.¹ However, the Communists also see the immediate need of simplifying the Chinese written language to combat illiteracy. In this regard the government policy is based on Mao Tse-tung's statement that, "under certain conditions, the written language of China must be reformed."² Envisaged as an ultimate goal of language reform is the complete Latinization of the Chinese written language. In other words, the characters will be replaced by the Latin alphabet. Communists promoters of Latinization often cite Lenin's pronouncement that "Latinization is the great revolution of the East,"³ to substantiate their argument.

The Communists are trying to cultivate a politically conscious proletariat in China. China's

1. See quotation and discussion in Ts'ao Po-han, Yu-wen Wen-t'i P'ing-lun Chi [Critical Essays on the Language Problem], Shanghai, Tung-fang shu-tien, 1954, p. 95.

2. Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung Hsüan-chi [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung], Vol. II, Peking, Jen-min ch'u-p'an-she, 1952, p. 680.

3. John de Francis, Nationalism and [contd]

- 2/2 spoken language, as reflected in songs, plays, and speeches, is becoming more proletarian and drifting away from the set phrases and expressions traditionally used by the intellectual class. Extensive use of professional jargon and local expressions is the vogue of the day. Political terms and scientific terms, particularly those of Russian origin, are apparently on the lips of every Chinese who has had Communist indoctrination. It must be noted that the Communists, in adopting many new terms heretofore unfamiliar to the average Chinese, are aware of the danger of corrupting the language. The People's Daily of Peking (the Pravda of China), in an editorial on June 6, 1951, urged the use of correct Chinese and stressed the need for the study of grammar so that "the Chinese language will not become corrupt and impure."⁴

In the movement to eradicate illiteracy, the current trend is to promote accelerated methods of language teaching and to standardize and formalize many simplified characters already used in handwriting by the people. One of the most publicized methods to accelerate language learning was introduced in 1948 by Ch'i Chien-hua,

Language Reform in China, Princeton University Press, 1950, p. 90.

4. Quoted in Jen-min Chiao-yü [People's Education], Peking, March 1955, p. 28.

- 212 a cultural cadre attached to the armed forces.
185 Ch'i publicized the use of "National Phonetic Symbols" (not to be confused with the Gwoyeu Romatzyh discussed in foregoing sections of this chapter) as the "walking stick" for new learners. Phonetic symbols are employed as an aid to pronunciation. This method was said to be so successful that the Peking government in May 1952 recognized Ch'i's contribution by awarding him a citation.⁵

Simplification of written characters has received official blessing. When the Committee on the Study of Language Reform under the Ministry of Education compiled 798 such simplified characters and recommended that they be adopted, the recommendation was given immediate attention. On May 1, 1955 the committee announced that 57 of the simplified characters would be adopted by six national periodicals for experimental purposes.⁶ By January 1956, the number of simplified characters approved by the committee and already in use by many publications had increased to 260. At the same time the committee also announced the standardized forms of 810 characters, of which many irregular forms had been in use.⁷

5. People's Education, May 1952, p. 4.

6. Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, May 2, 1955, p. 1.

7. Ya-chou Tien-hsün [Asia Foundation News Bulletin], San Francisco, Jan. 19, 1956, p. 3.

8. Ni Hai-shu Chung-kuo Yu-wen Ti Hsin-sheng [The Rebirth of the Chinese Language], Shanghai, Shih-tai shu-pao ch'u-pan-she, 1949, pp. 458-59; also see John de Francis, op. cit. pp. 131-34. [see next page] - 112 -

The Latinization movement, although without much official promotion, is by no means dead. There are publications printed in this new form of Chinese. One ardent supporter of this movement, Ni Hai-shu, claimed that in 1949 there were over 300 such publications, with a total circulation of about 500,000 on the market.⁸ There is evidence that such publications are still available in Southwest China today.

There are other recent developments in language reform. One is the attempt to standardize the use of punctuation. On October 5, 1951 the Government Administration Council in Peking issued a directive on the correct use of punctuation marks.⁹ Since that time the general trend has been moving toward standardization. It has also been advocated that Chinese be written horizontally and from left to right. Such a practice is not new, but the Peking government is the first Chinese regime to sanction it. Following lengthy discussions of this practice, national publications like the Enlightenment Daily and the New China Monthly began printing their texts horizontally in January 1955. The People's Daily and a few other journals followed suit in January 1956.

As to the languages of minority nationality groups, the over-all Communist policy is to help them create or improve their own written scripts. The theory is that these people must first be given their own languages; then it will be easier for them to learn Chinese (Latinized Chinese, most probably). In Southwest China, the Tai

9. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1952 [People's Handbook, 1952], Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1952, p.437.

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185 script used by the minority nationality groups around Pao-shan in Yunnan Province was standardized in December 1952.¹⁰ Many other non-Chinese languages in this region are receiving equal attention.

XI. SPEAKERS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

191 Before 1949, the use of foreign languages, mainly English, was found in a few larger cities in Southwest China like Chungking and Chengtu. In Kunming (Yunnan Province) and several towns on the old Yunnan-Indochina Railway where French influence was discernible, French was an understandable language among a small segment of population in commercial and educated circles. Compared with other Western languages English was popular in Southwest China because of the contact with English-speaking visitors and the inclusion of English in school curricula. However, with the exception of a few foreign missionary schools in which English was emphasized and taught by native speakers, instruction in English in other schools did not amount to much. This was true even of the colleges in the region. Although some college students could read a printed item in English with reasonable ease, they could hardly converse in it. On the average it may be safely assumed that no more than one-tenth of the secondary school graduates and no more than one-third of the college graduates could, with some difficulty, read English. The over-all percentages of those who could speak it would be even smaller.

10. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, January 29, 1953, p. 3.

PART I

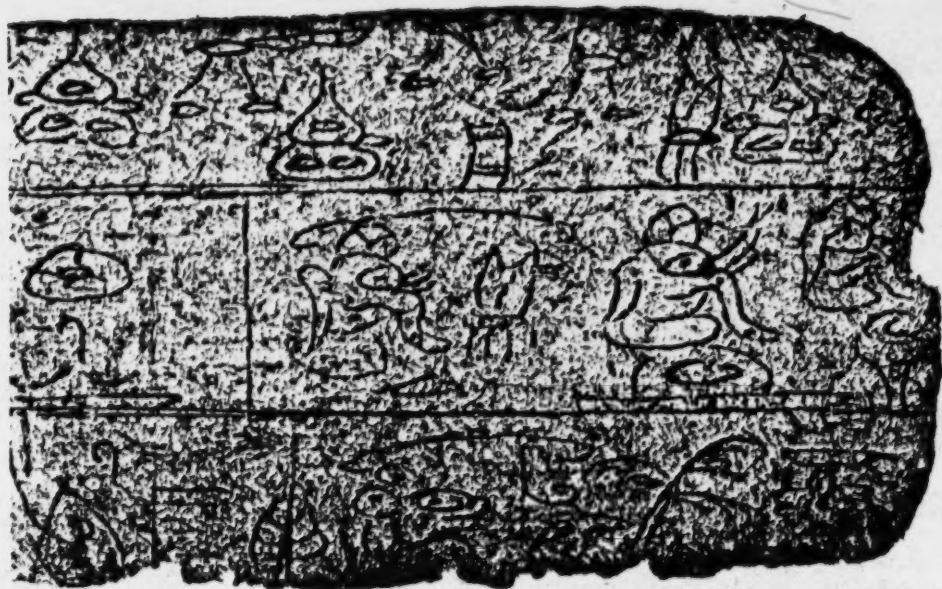
INTRODUCTION

THE PROVINCE OF YÜN-NAN

- 101 Yün-nan 雲南 (South of the clouds) is the second largest province of China, and is situated in the extreme south-west of that vast country. Its area is approximately 146,700 square miles, and in 1933 it had a population of 11,795,486, or about 80.4 persons to the square mile. Of this population 6,095,549 were male, and 5,699,937 were female, and 88.88 per cent of the entire population was illiterate.
- 131 In the north it borders on Ssu-ch'uan 四川 and Hsi-k'ang 西康, in the west on Hsi-tsang 西藏 (Tibet) and Mien-tien 緬甸 (Burma). In the south it adjoins the south-eastern Shan States of Burma and also Indo-China, while in the east it borders on the Chinese provinces of Kuei-chou 貴州 and Kuang-hsi 廣西.
- 133 Yün-nan is a high table-land, intersected by some of the largest rivers of Asia, such as the Yangtze, Mekong, and Salween, and by the eastern branch of the Irrawadi (the Ch'iu Chiang 球江 of the Chinese) in the extreme west. These rivers flow parallel to each other for a considerable distance in terrific gorges. The intervening mountain ranges, which in the extreme north-west reach heights of 22,000 feet, are crowned by eternal snow. Of these the Mekong-Salween divide forms, in part, the Tibet-Yün-nan border. The altitude increases in the north-west, and we find towns at 11,500 feet elevation.
- [36] In the south, the province is partly covered with tropical jungle where tigers roam and malaria is prevalent, and where the Tai or Shan hold undisputed sway, as no Yünnanese will live below an altitude of 4,000 feet. Here the water-buffalo is at home, and rice is the main crop.
- [243] 231 In the north the yak grazes on the high alpine meadows, and barley is grown at 12,000 feet. The yak furnishes the inhabitants with meat, milk, butter and cheese; its dung (argols) is used as fuel and its hair for the weaving of cloth for tents; it also serves as a transport animal. Here barley takes the place of rice and is the staple food of the Tibetans.
- 101 The capital of the province is Yün-nan fu, situated at an altitude of 6,400 feet, on a large plain surrounded by mountains. Near it is the famous lake known as Tien Ch'ih 滇池 or K'un-yang 昆明. To-day Yün-nan fu is called K'un-ming 昆明, which, during the reign of Han Wu Ti, was the land of I-chou Chün 益州郡. While the name K'un-ming is an ancient one it seems not to have been applied to the land which bears that name to-day prior to the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty. The *K'un-ming hsien chih* speaks of three K'un-mings. In the oldest geographical record of Yün-nan we read, however, that the name K'un-ming had first been given to the lake at Yün-nan fu by General Chuang Ch'iao of the State of Ch'u in about 280 B.C. (see Note 3, page 6).
- As this is not a history and geography of the whole of Yün-nan, but only of a specified area in its north-west, namely the region now occupied by the Mo-so

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China *RF16*

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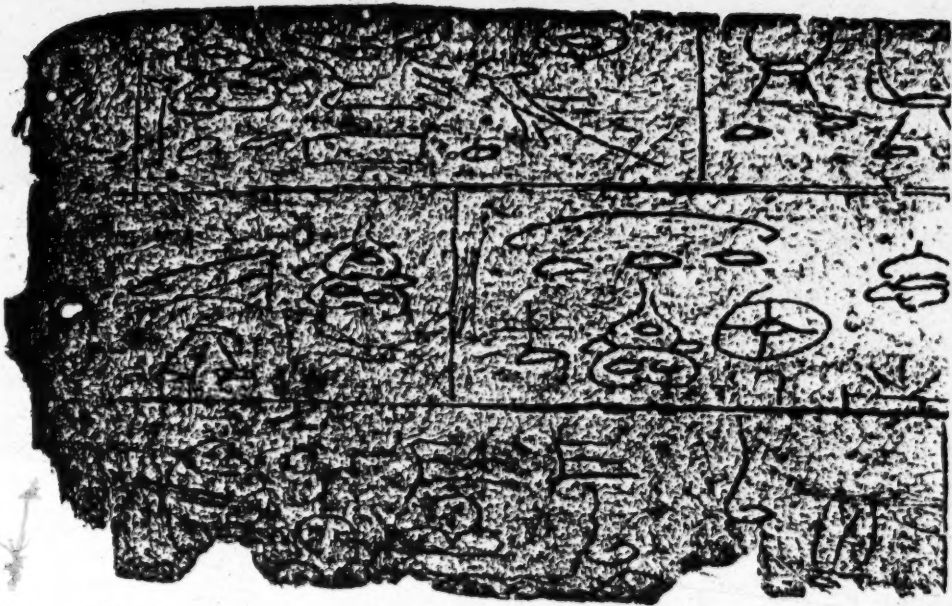


[p. 28 J]

PLATE 10. — AN ANCIENT NA-KHI MANUSCRIPT

古 藏 文 書 寫 本 之 一

Second half of a page from the manuscript *Ts'o mbér ssaw*, relating the origin of man. The second rubric of the second line is explained on page 77. First sentence; Second and Third sentence on page 78.



[p. 28 K]

PLATE 11. — AN ANCIENT NA-KHI MANUSCRIPT

First half of the page figured on plate 10; the third line is explained on page 78, *Fourth sentence*; *Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh sentence* in part on page 79.

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PLATE 45.—SCROLL INSCRIPTION BY MU TSENG

木坐白手游雲

談空客喜花含笑 When the guests are delighted at my discussions
of all unreality, the blossoms seem to smile;

說法僧聞鳥亂啼 While the monks are listening to my preaching
of the doctrine, the birds warble confusingly
outside. The small character to left is Tseng 曾.

[p. 76 M]

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PLATE 46. — THE SECOND SCROLL INSCRIPTION BY MU TSENG

僧在竹廊半簾月 The priest meditates in his bamboo but whose screen is half bathed in the moonlight;

鶴歸松徑滿樓臺 When the cranes have gone to roost the various lofts and towers alone relieve the somberness of the pine tree glade.

The four characters to the left are Sheng-pai Tao-jen (Buddhist).

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ward and then one backward, while all the rest in the ring will follow suit. The leader then would chant a question which would be answered by someone in the ring blessed with a good voice. The song is apt to begin with:
 173 "Where did the wealthy Tibetan die?" The answer would be: "He died within
 173 the earth house!" "What clothes will he be dressed in?" "In a *p'u-lu* [woollen]
 174 garment he will be dressed!" — etc.

The sentences which here follow are undoubtedly those of a song once sung in the *Muan-bpö d'a*, or place especially set aside for the propitiation of Heaven, and during its performance. The actual word "Who" initiating the question is omitted in these sentences. But we can readily see that each sentence is divided into question and answer. The first sentence should therefore be translated thus: "Who laid man's egg?" "Heaven laid it!" Second sentence: "Who hatched man's egg?" "Earth hatched it!" Third sentence: "What was the egg of *Ts'o-zä* like?" "It was like the conch-shell!" — and so forth.

• 212 First sentence. — The sentence in Chinese is as follows: 草古天能古 *Ts'ao-*
 173 *ku-t'ien-neng-ku* This translated literally would be: "Grass old heaven able old," which, of course, would have no meaning. It must be read in Na-khi: *Ts'o-g-muan nnü-gkr*. It can readily be seen that the Chinese characters *Ts'ao-ku* stand for *Ts'o-g*, the third character *t'ien* (heaven) is a translation of the Na-khi *muan*, which means heaven, there being no such sound as *muan* in Chinese. The character *neng* is the nearest approach to the Na-khi *nnü*, and the last character *ku* is here read in Na-khi *gkr*. The literal translation of the sentence is: "Man egg heaven it laid." This same sentence written in pictographs appears in the book called *Ts'o-mbör ssaw* (Plate 10) thus:



The uppermost symbol represents the vault of heaven (read *muan*), below it is the head of an elephant (read *ts'o*), below the trunk of the elephant the symbol *g* for egg, and the last conventional sign for head is read *gkr*. Abstract ideas cannot be written with pictographs,

therefore symbols representing concrete ideas are employed or borrowed, which have the same tone value and sound complex as the abstract word which is to be conveyed. The word *nnü* is not written. In Na-khi an elephant is called *ts'o*, and when the name of *Ts'o-dze Lü-ghügh* is written, either an elephant's head is used, or the figure of a man with an elephant's head. On the top of the elephant head is however the Na-khi *no-bu* = pearl, (Tibetan *nor-bü*), which would actually indicate that *Ts'o-dze Lü-ghügh* is meant as the father of the Na-khi race was also the father of the *Nāga* or Serpent spirits who stole the pearl from the Lake *Muan-lü-ndaw-gyi* (Khu). See: Note 1, of p. 82. By stating that the egg whence man originated was laid by Heaven, the Na-khi mean to indicate that man's fate was decreed by Heaven and that he is thus identified with Heaven.

Second sentence. — 草依地能依 *Ts'ao-feng-li-neng-feng*; in Na-khi: *Ts'o-bbu-dü-nnü-bbu*. The second character *feng* is ill-selected. It should be 𑍑 *fu*, which would be nearest to the Na-khi *bbu* and would also express the Na-khi

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173 meaning, which is "to hatch, to transform." *Ts'o* = man (egg is here omitted, but man's egg is meant) [who] hatched man's [egg] — the earth hatched it. The Chinese character *ti* = earth is the Na-khi *dü* = earth; *nnü* is expressed again in Chinese by *neng*. In the manuscripts this sentence is written thus:



We have again the elephant for *ts'o* = man, below it an egg wrapped or covered and below it again the land (*dü* = the earth); the symbol to the right is read *bbu* and represents a pot (borrowed for its phonetic value to express *bbu* = to hatch, to incubate). It is interesting to note the selection of the character *ts'eng*, a much more common one than *fu* 𠂔, for the Na-khi *bbu*. *Feng* is read *fung* by the Yün-nan Chinese, but as the Na-khi are unable to pronounce a final consonant such as *n* or *ng*, their rendering of *feng* would be *fu*.

Third sentence. — 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 *Ts'ao-hsien-ku-fu-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ts'o-zä-g-fu* 𠂔. Literally translated it says: *Ts'o-zä*, "egg conch-shell become," or the egg of *Ts'o-zä* was like the conch-shell (white).

The meaning of *ts'o-zä* is somewhat obscure. *Zä* is a spirit which controls all births, of both man and animals. If people are desirous of children, the granting of long life, or increase in flocks, they have the ceremony called *Zu-mä* performed; *mä*, meaning to wish, to want, to be desirous of. *G* stands again for egg, and *fu* in Na-khi is a conch-shell; the last *g* means to become, to succeed, to be like. The phrase appears in the books very much abbreviated thus:



Ts'o is written but not *zä*, which nevertheless is read, *g* is the egg, and the last pictograph is a conch-shell. Some books use more abbreviations than others. Na-khi priests memorize these books, the symbols or pictures acting as prompts only.

Fourth sentence. — 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 *Ku-fu-ku-lü-ku*, in Na-khi: *G-fu-g-lr-g*. The meaning is: "The conch-shell-like egg hot became" or, the egg which was like the conch-shell became hot. The character 𠂔 represents the Na-khi word *lr*, hot; the last character 𠂔 is the Na-khi *g* = to become, to change into, to succeed, etc. It is represented thus (Plate 11):



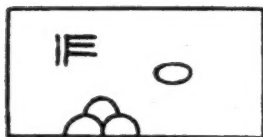
The first pictograph is read *fu*, the conch-shell; the second upper is *g*, the egg, which is read three times, the last *lr* represent rocks. As *hot* is an abstract idea it cannot be written, therefore the symbol for rock, of the same phonetic value, is borrowed.

Fifth sentence. — 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 *Ku-lü-chi-lü-ku*; in Na-khi: *G-lr-ssau-lr-g*. The literal translation is: "Egg hot breath hot succeeded," or from the hot

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egg came forth hot breath (vapor). The first two characters serve as phonetics only and so do the two last; the third character *ch'i*, meaning "vapor, breath, steam," represents the Na-khi word *ssaw*. In the pictographic books it is written thus:



The first upper symbol is read *ssaw* and represents breath, vapor; the symbol *lu* (rock) is borrowed for *lu* = hot, and *ge* stands for egg, this last character being read twice — once as *ge* = egg and the second time as *ge* = to succeed, to become, to come forth.

Sixth sentence. — 氣呂露呂古 *Ch'i-lü-lu-lü-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ssau-lu-ndshër-lu-ge*. The literal meaning is: "Vapor hot dew hot succeed [came forth]." or from the hot vapor came forth hot dew. The first character is translated as in the previous sentence, i.e. *ssaw* = vapor; the second *lü* for *lu* = hot; the third character translates the Na-khi word *ndshër*, which means dew; the fourth stands again for the phonetic *lu* = hot; and *ku* for *ge* = to come forth, etc. In pictographs it appears thus:



The first upper symbol is *ssaw* = vapor; the next below is read *ndshër*, represented by a dewdrop; the lowest character *lu* = rock stands for hot, and the last *ge* = egg for "to succeed," the phonetic value of "egg" being borrowed.

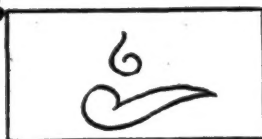
Seventh sentence. — 露呂陸點古 *Lu-lü-liu-tien-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ndshër-lu-ch'uua-l'o-ge*. Literally it means: "Dew hot six drops came forth," or from the hot dew came forth six drops. In the Chinese sentence three characters, the first, third and fourth, are translations of Na-khi words, while the second and fifth are Chinese phonetic renderings. *Lu* = *ndshër* = dew; *lü* = *lu* = hot; *liu* = *ch'uua* = six; *tien* = *l'o* = a dot, a drop; and *ku* = *ge* = to come forth. In the pictographic text it appears thus:



The first upper symbol represents a drop, the second, rock, again for hot; the next upper again a drop represented by the dewdrop sign; below it six dots for the number six; the last, egg = to come forth, succeed, etc.

Eighth sentence. — 一點落海 *I-tien-hai-niang-ting*; in Na-khi: *Ddu-l'o-ghü-nyu-ndër*. Literal meaning: "One drop lake inside," or one drop fell into the sea (or lake). The first three characters represent translations from the Na-khi, while the two last are Chinese phonetic renderings of Na-khi words. Here again characters have been selected for Na-khi words simply for the reason that to the Chinese ear they sound similar to *nyu* and *ndër* of the Na-khi who would read the character *niang* as *nya*, and the character *ting* as *ti*, being

212 unable to pronounce final consonants; *ti .g = ti* coming closest to their word
 173 *ndër*. In pictographs it is written:



The meaning is here indicated by two symbols only, the upper *ndshër*, dewdrop, the lower *khü*, lake, sea.

Ninth sentence. — 海失海美古 *Hai-shih-hai-hsien-ku*; in Na-khi: *Khü-shi-khü-zä-gv*. Literally: "Lake golden *Khü-zä* came forth," or from the golden lake was born *Khü-zä*. Apparently the first human being was called *Khü-zä*. It is intimated that when one of the dewdrops fell into the lake it changed to a golden color, and from that golden lake *Khü-zä*, the first being was born. The second, fourth and fifth characters, were selected for their phonetic value, while the first and third were selected for their ideographic meaning. The Na-khi word for gold, *ha-shi* (*ha* = gold, *shi* = yellow) has been rendered phonetically by the character *shih*. In the pictographic symbols the sentence is written:



The first upper symbol is read *shi* and represents a lump of gold from which bright rays are emitted, the lower one is *khü* = lake, and the upper winged being is the spirit *Zä* which here is, however, a phonetic only, *khü* = lake being read twice, the second time as a phonetic.

It is part of the name of the first being *Khü-zä*. *Gv* = egg stands here for *gv* = to come forth, to succeed.

Tenth sentence. — 海美刺美古 *Hai-hsien-la-hsien-ku*; in Na-khi: *Khü-zä-la-zä-gv*, which means literally: "From *Khü-zä* *La-zä* succeeded (was born)." The five characters stand for Na-khi phonetics. This is written in pictographs:



The first pictograph represents a tiger, read *la*, and serves, like the next *zä*, as a phonetic only; the egg stands for *gv*, to come forth. *Khü-zä* is not written, as it appears in the preceding rubric.

Eleventh sentence. — 刺美天美古 *La-hsien-t'ien-hsien-ku*; in Na-khi, *La-zä-muan-zä-gv*. Literal meaning: "La-zä *Muan-zä* came forth," or, *La-zä* was succeeded by *Muan-zä*. All the characters, with the exception of the third one, serve as phonetics only. *T'ien* = heaven is Chinese for the Na-khi *muan* = heaven, and is given here although the word *muan* is part of the name *Muan-zä*. In the script it appears thus:



The first part of the phrase reads *muan-zä*, the upper sign representing the vault of heaven, *muan*. Below is the spirit *Zä* taken here for the name only. The next, two demons (*ts'u* in Na-khi) in a sitting

position with feet nearly touching, is read *ts'u-ts'u* and means to kick, being part of the name of the next generation: *Muan-zä Ts'u-ts'u*. *Ts'u-ts'u* was the son of *Muan-zä*, the father's name always preceding the son's. 2/2
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From here on commences the genealogy, giving the names of the men and of the women they married. There follow now 12 families (generations) until we come to *Ch'iu-yang* 秋陽, who became the *San-tien Tsung-kuan* 三旬總管 during the reign of *Kao Tsung*, *Shang-yüan* 高宗上元 (674-675)

2. THE TWELVE LEGENDARY GENERATIONS

First. — *T'ien-hsien Ts'ung-ts'ung* 天羨從從; *Na-khi*: *Muan-zä Ts'u-ts'u*. The *Na-khi* word *muan* = heaven is translated into Chinese, while *ts'u-ts'u* is rendered by the Chinese as *ts'ung-ts'ung*. This generation is included in the previous, eleventh, rubric.

Muan-zä Ts'u-ts'u's wife was the celestial woman, *K'uei-tu-mu-shu* 虧都母書; *Na-khi*: *K'ö-dtu-mun-ssu*.

Second. — *Ts'ung-ts'ung Ts'ung-yang* 從從從羊; *Na-khi*: *Ts'u-ts'u Ts'u-yü*. The first three characters serve as phonetics only, while the *Na-khi yü* = sheep is translated by the fourth character, *yang* = sheep. It can be seen that the father's name always precedes that of the son. In the pictographic books the name is written:



The first two symbols represent demons and are read *ts'u-ts'u*, the third is a sheep and is read *yü*. One of the *ts'u* symbols is read twice.

Ts'u-ts'u Ts'u-yü married the celestial *Tang-ch'ing-ch'ing-shu* 當青青書; *Nakhi*: *Dta-ts'ä-ts'ä-ssu*.

Third. — *Ts'ung-yang Ts'ung-chiao* 從羊從交; *Na-khi*: *Ts'u-yü Ts'u-dgyu*; written in pictographs thus:



The first symbol is a demon (read *ts'u*), the second a sheep (read *yü*), the third again a demon (read *ts'u*), and the fourth a donkey (read *gkyü*, also pronounced *dgyu*).

Ts'u-yü Tsu-dgyu married the celestial woman, *Chi-li-chi-shu* 集里集書; *Na-khi*: *Ndzi-llü-ndzi ssu*.

Fourth. — *Ts'ung-chiao Chiao-hsien* 從交交羨; *Na-khi*: *Ts'u-dgyu Dgyu-dze*. He married the celestial woman, *A-chün-ngai-shu* 阿均岩書; *Na-khi*: *A-dzi-ssä-ssu*.

The introduction of the character *ngai* (cliff) in the name of this woman is of interest. The *Na-khi ssä*, the third syllable of her name, means a goral (*Naemorhedus griseus*), called in Chinese *ngai-yang* 岩羊 (cliff sheep). The

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first character *ngai* has thus been used to indicate that the word is to be read *ssā*. This is, of course, only intelligible to those Na-khi who understand Chinese. These often write letters in the Na-khi language, but using Chinese characters to transcribe their sound complexes, the method employed being similar to that of transcribing these names.

This particular generation, Ts'u-dgyu Dgyu-dze, is strangely missing in all Na-khi manuscripts dealing with their ancestors, and nowhere does the name appear except in the genealogy, written in Chinese.

Fifth. — Chiao-hsien Pi-hsien 交羨比羨; Na-khi: Dgyu-dze Dzi-dze. In the manuscripts the name appears thus:



Kgyū (*dgyu*) is a donkey, *sā* a spirit, *dsi* a jackal, the third symbol again the winged spirit *sā*. In the spoken language a jackal is called *p'a*, but in the literary language it is called *dsi*. The symbol also stands for

"man," or better, "people," that is, peasants not of the descent of Ts'o, which is "man" written with an elephant's head. In most cases the word *dsi* is employed for non-Na-khi people.

Chiao-hsien Pi-hsien married the celestial woman, K'uan-tu-mu-shu 寬都木書; Na-khi: K'wua-dtu-mbēr-ssu. Her name is written in the books thus:



The first symbol *k'wua* is a hoof; *dsu* is the symbol for the numeral 1,000; *mbēr* is a yak; and the last symbol is read *ssu* and represents a die.

Sixth. — Pi-hsien Ts'ao-hsien 比羨章羨; Na-khi: Dzi-dze Ts'o-dze. All these characters serve as phonetics only. Written in Na-khi thus:



The first part of the name is taken from the previous rubric giving the name of his father; the second half, his own name, is represented by *ts'o*, a conventional elephant's head which when thus written stands for Ts'o-dze Llū-ghūgh, whom the

Na-khi consider their foremost ancestor. On the top of the head is a *no-bu* (pearl), to indicate the ancestry of Ts'o-dze Llū-ghūgh. He had a common origin with the *llū-mun* (serpent spirits), which carry a pearl on their heads — they had the same father, but different mothers.¹ The symbol is that of a *llū-mun* (serpent spirit). Note the head-dress representing a *no-bu* (pearl).



¹ In a manuscript entitled *K'ō-ddu-gv-lēr-mā* belonging to the *Ssu-gv* ceremony (propitiation of the serpents), we are told that the *Llū-mun* (Nāga) and the Na-khi had a common father, but that the mother of the *Llū-mun* was called *K'ō-ddu-gv-ssu-mā* and the mother of the Na-khi *K'ō-ddu-gv-lēr-mā*. The name of the father is not given.

The character *sā* is here read *dse*.

Dzi-dze Ts'o-dze married the celestial woman, Wei-hui-lai-shu 爲揮來書; Na-khi: Ghügh-khü-lä-ssu. Her name appears in the manuscripts thus:

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Ghügh is an ox in Na-khi, *khü* the teeth — the symbol represents a mouth showing the teeth; *lä* is a rabbit, and *ssu* is a die.

Seventh. — Ts'ao-hsien Li-wei-wei 章漢里爲爲; Na-khi: Ts'o-dze Llū-ghügh. The genealogy adds an additional *wei* = *ghügh*. All characters serve as phonetics only. The volume entitled *Ts'o-mbër t'u* (Origin of the Generation of Ts'o) deals entirely with this ancestor, his brothers, and the flood which destroyed them because they practised incest; Ts'o-dze Llū-ghügh, who abstained, alone surviving; then with his marriage to a celestial woman, and finally with the story of his offspring, who became ill and could not be cured until certain Na-khi books were secured from the goddess P'ër-ndzi-ssaw-mä. This story is related in a book called *Bpö-p'a gko-shu* and is chanted at many ceremonies performed by the priests.²

Ts'o-dze Llū-ghügh's name is written thus:



The ring in front of the mouth represents the trunk of the elephant, the two lines near the eye the tusks, the hood on top of the head the *no-bu* (pearl), to show, as already remarked, that he and the serpent spirits, who always appear crowned by pearls, had a common father.

Ts'o-dze-Llū-ghügh was married to the celestial woman, Ch'ing-hui-p'u-p'u 青揮蕭蕭; Na-khi: Ts'ä-khü-bu-bu (mi). The characters serve as phonetics only. In manuscripts her name is not written out, but the figure of a woman is sketched with the outlines of a leaf (read *ts'ä*), and the symbol for fire, representing three flames. The symbol for fire is read *mi*, but in the third tone, *mi* = woman. The word *mi* is usually added to names of females. In the genealogy it is omitted.

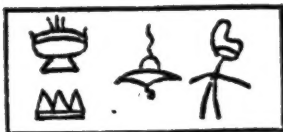


To them were born three sons, who divided (later) into three clans, and lived 1,700 years.

Eighth. — Li-wei No-yü 里爲糯子; Na-khi: Llū-ghügh Non-ö. The characters serve as phonetics only. This ancestor is commonly referred to in the manuscripts as Ghügh-hö-non. It is strange that in spite of the Na-khi being unable to pronounce a definite final consonant, they will in certain cases add a final nasal, *n*, which I transcribe as an underlined *n* according to usage. They will say for *no* 糯, as in this instance, *non* instead of a clear *no*. Llū-ghügh Non-ö married the woman (the word celestial is now omitted) Wu-nü-wu-chung 吳女吳鍾; Na-khi: Wu-mi-wu-dsu. The first and two last characters serve as phonetics, the second character *nü* =

² (See "The Origin of the Tso-la books, or books of divination of the Na-khi or Mo-so tribe," J. F. Rock, in *Journ. West China Board. Res. Soc.*, Vol. VIII, 39-52 [1936].)

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173 woman is translated into Na-khi and reads *mi* = woman. They lived 1,500 years.



The wife's name is written thus in Na-khi: The first upper symbol is read *un* = a slave, the second *mi* = fire, but read in the third tone = woman. The third is read *dsu* and represents a bell, the fourth is a figure of a woman, to indicate that it represents a female name.

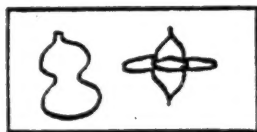
Ninth. — No-yü Nan-pan-p'u 糯子南伴普; Na-khi: Non-ō Na-lä-p'ö. All five characters serve as phonetics.

In the books he is called Zo-ts'ü Ō and his wife is called T'o-k'ö-ssä-lv. According to the genealogy he married the woman, Chi-nü-chi-t'a-la-lu 戟女戟他利魯; Na-khi: Gyi-mi-gyi-t'a-la-lv. Her name appears thus in the books:



The first upper symbol is read *gyi* = water; the lower *t'a*, representing a pagoda or chhorten (mchhod-rten); the next is a tiger and is read *la*; the last symbol *lv* represents rocks. In the books this woman appears as the wife of Ghügh-hö Non (Lü-ghügh Non-ō of the genealogy).

Tenth. — Pan-p'u Yü 伴普子; Na-khi: Bā-p'ö Ō. The characters serve as phonetics only. The name appears in the manuscripts thus:



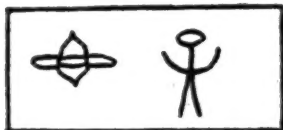
The first symbol is read *Bā-p'ö* and represents a bottle gourd, the second is read *ö*. It represents a turquoise and stands also for the adjectives green and blue.

Bā-p'ö Ō married the woman, K'uan-tu-mu-lu 寬都木魯; Na-khi: K'wua-dtu-mbër-lv. They lived 1,060 years. Her name appears in the books thus:



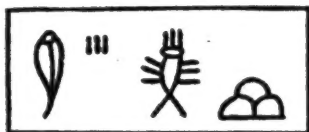
The first symbol is read *k'wua* and represents a hoof; the second *dsu* represents the numeral 1,000. The third is a yak, read *mbër*; and the fourth is read *lv* = rocks.

Eleventh. — Then follows Yü Ko lai 于哥來; Na-khi: Ō Gkaw-lä. His name is written in Na-khi thus:



The first symbol is read *Ō* and represents a turquoise, hence also blue and green; the second represents a man with his arms stretched upwards (read *Gkaw-lä*). The origin of the meaning has been lost.

He married the woman, Chi-nü-chi-ssu-mu-lu 載女載思母魯; Na-khi: 212
Gyi-mi-gyi-ssu-mun-lv. Her name is written: 173



The first symbol is read *gyi* and represents water; the second *ssu*, the numeral three; the third is read *mun* and represents the water demon; the fourth, rocks (read *lv*).

Ö Gkaw-lä figures in many of the Na-khi books, and the great funeral ceremony called

Khi-nv is based on him. One of his sons, Gkaw-lä Ts'ü, the next generation, figures in the book called *Gkaw-lä Ts'ü ö-sher*, in which the story of his father is related. The meaning of the title of the book is: "Gkaw-lä Ts'ü soul calls," or, he calls the soul of his father, i.e., redeems it. PLATES I and II accompanying the book *Beginnings of Writing in Central and Eastern Asia*, by T. de Lacouperie (1894), represent the book *Gkaw-lä Ts'ü ö-sher*. It is the key-book to the *Khi-nv* funeral ceremony.

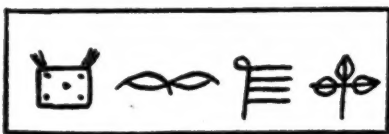
In several other Na-khi manuscripts Ö Gkaw-lä is recorded as married to women bearing other names, as Ö-yu-dtu-nun-mi and K'wua-dtu-mbër-lv. The latter is the wife of his father in the genealogy. He and his wife lived 1,700 years.

Twelfth. — Ko-lai Ch'iu 哥來秋; Na-khi: Gkaw-lä Ts'ü. The characters serve as phonetics only.



His name is never written, but represented by the symbol to the left which always stands for Gkaw-lä Ts'ü. The plume on the top of the head is the symbol for *ts'ü* or millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) and is here used phonetically, indicating the name of Gkaw-lä Ts'ü. He was married to Chi-nü-chi-chung 載女載鍾; Na-khi: Gyi-mi-gyi-dsu. To them were born four sons who separated into four clans, the Ssu (東 Shu), Yu (葉 Yeh), Mä (買 Mai) and Ho (何 Ho). They lived 1,000 years.

The Na-khi clan names just mentioned are written thus:



The first symbol is *ssu* and represents a species of grass, the basic symbol is *ssu* - a die, with the grass-like lines on top it indicates that the grass *ssu* is meant; the second is *yu* and represents wilted leaves; the third *ho*, ribs;

the fourth, *mä*, is the name of an unknown tree.

The name of Gkaw-lä Ts'ü's wife is written:



The first symbol is read *gyi* = water; the second *mi* = woman, again indicated by the third symbol for fire, *mi* or three flames at the foot of the figure; and the fourth, *dsu* = a bell.

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 6, 173
fol. 60b, states that: "The clans Shu and Yeh 東葉 dwelled in the city. The T'u-ssu! 土司 (native chief) Yeh-ku-nien 葉古年, ancestor of the Mu family

735 After a man takes to begging it is difficult to get him to leave it, but it is also difficult to find one who has been born a beggar, nearly everyone having come to this state through gambling or opium.

When these beggars die they get a free coffin. When put in the coffin a basin is put under each hand and foot, and a broom under the buttocks. The basins are said to be like the hoofs of a horse, and the broom like the tail of a horse. The idea is that in this life they have done little and got much from the country, and in the next they are willing to become horses to carry government despatches.

782 To collect printed paper, *shou tzü-chih* 收字紙, and burn it in places built for the purpose is to accumulate merit. 212 It is merit to collect this paper, merit to deal in it, and also to buy and burn it. A receptacle for it is hung up in almost every house and school. Men go round the streets collecting the paper from these baskets. It is reckoned very bad taste to put a book in an unclean place or dispose of waste paper in a careless fashion, because writing has been handed down from the sages. The sentence "be careful of paper with characters" is written up everywhere.

782 To gather up the dry bones dug out in the public graveyard and deposit them in the dry-bone tower; to put earth on neglected graves—a coolie being engaged to put a load or two of earth on each grave; to give away books and tracts, exhorting people to good deeds and to attend to their idolatry:—such books as the *kan ying pi'en* 感應篇 or book of rewards and punishments are freely given; to invite a man to preach the Sacred Edict at the front door of the house for the benefit of the public; to burn paper clothing and paper money to the orphan spirits in the graveyard; to light lanterns at the New Year and other times to guide the spirits home; these are all works of merit.

788 To go on a pilgrimage for the worship of Buddha, *chao shan pai Fo* 朝山拜佛, is merit. These pilgrimages are nearly all to sacred mountains, and occupy weeks, months or years. Some pilgrims go three steps then kneel down and worship, some five steps and make a bow, others crawl

Nam-hkam and Mōng Mow

21

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101 name of Chung-chia, and I have little doubt that considerable numbers of them might be found in the southern provinces of Kuang-hsi and Kuang-tung. The Yün-nan Chinamen in fact say that the Cantonese are Shans by race, and the facial resemblance between the Shan and the southern Chinaman is certainly remarkable.

S
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● 212 All the more civilised Shan States from Kamti at the sources of the western Irrawaddy down to Bangkok have an alphabetical system of writing and a very considerable literary language, which differs so much from the ordinary language used in conversation as to be incomprehensible to an uneducated man. In the more isolated communities, where the Shans have been swamped by the Chinese, though they preserve their own tongue in talking they often have no knowledge of any system of writing it.

177 Spread over such a large extent of country, there are naturally diversities of dialect in the language, but Shans from very different countries can understand each other. S
P
771 I remember a Siamese official from Bangkok who had little difficulty in understanding the conversation of the Bhamo Shans. In religion they are Buddhists of the Burmese type of Buddhism, but the priests are much more lax in their observances than those of Burma.

S
P
[142] They are a short, but very strongly made race, yellow in complexion, with features of a decidedly Mongolian type. A very nice, pleasant people to travel among or to have anything to do with, as long as one does not want to get any work out of them. They can work hard enough in case of necessity, and many of them are very energetic traders, but as long as they can live comfortably by working at their fields for half the year, most of them prefer to spend the rest of their time in smoking and chewing betel nut.

181 They are not at all warlike or unfriendly to strangers. Their curiosity, is certainly great, and they will sit round in scores and hundreds to look at a European, but it is a respectful curiosity, unaccompanied by the bad manners which, among the races of Eastern Asia, seem to be a monopoly of the Chinese. I must have travelled some fifteen hundred miles through Shan countries, and I never remember any difference of opinion or unpleasantness of any kind.